

CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNICITY: THE CASE OF MONTENEGRIN IMMIGRANTS IN VOJVODINA¹

When it comes to the studies of the migrations, ethnicity and religiousity, Vojvodina is very fertile ground. After World War II, many settlements saw the exodus of ethnic Germans who had lived there for centuries and influenced the creation of Vojvodina's culture to a great extent. Their places were taken by settlers, mostly ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and other more passive areas of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. In this new environment, the settlers came across few „indigenous“ Germans, and also a certain number of Hungarians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Rusyns who had lived in the vicinity. This situation influenced the settlers' way of life to a great extent, getting yet another layer of meaning today. The collective memory of the settlers and of the German „emigrants“ coincide regarding certain points, but prove to differ completely regarding others. These different perceptions of the past stem from different contemporary interests. Within each of these communities memory branches off into quite a few different directions and offers a multitude of elements to be used as building blocks in constructing different perceptions of the past.²

I had found reassurance for the notion that the Montenegrins in Lovćenac are one of the extremes concerning the modeling of Montenegrin national identity in Serbia in two different kinds of sources: one was the media and the other the very scarce scientific material on this subject.³ I knew that the majority of the inhabitants of Lovćenac settled there after World War II, I knew that they came from the parts around mount Lovćen (or that they had symbolic ties to it), that these people managed to keep a lot of the elements of their „traditional“ identity, that they were dragged into the political match between Serbia and Montenegro, and that all the members of the German minority were driven out of Lovćenac when the settlers came. I also knew that the members of Montenegrin organizations in Lovćenac focus their activity on three main goals: they are trying to find their place within the political and cultural scene of Serbia, but also the political and cultural scene of Vojvodina and of Montenegro. What I didn't know was that Lovćenac is the only place in Serbia where ethnic Montenegrins constitute the majority of the population and that it is one of the least developed villages in Vojvodina. The last two facts proved to be very important.

The last and only systematic anthropological study of the identity of the inhabitants of Lovćenac was done more than twenty years ago, long before the onslaught of processes such as transition and globalization, long before the wars in

¹ The paper is based on work in two projects. The first one is project "Culture Identities in Processes of European Integration and Regionalization" which is supported by MNZŽS RS No. 147035. The second one is project "New and Ambiguous Nation-building Processes in Southeastern Europe" funded by Volkswagen Foundation and the Austrian Science Fund.

² On the construction of history, collective memory and the culture of memory see Eriksen 1993. 71–73.; also Kuljić 2006; also Pistrick 2008.

³ see Vasović 1959.; also Petrović 1990.

Former Yugoslavia, and long before the separation of Montenegro from Serbia. The results of the aforementioned research practically concerned an entirely different age and an entirely different community. The research that had been done in Lovćenac on that occasion was part of a wider study of Montenegrin colonists in Bačka, and even though Lovćenac itself was a major focus of attention, it wasn't enough. On top of all that, that research is now outdated in certain theoretical and methodological aspects. None the less, it makes for a good starting point.

I have studied the identity of the inhabitants of Lovćenac during the course of 2009, using the techniques of participant observation, the biographic method and unstructured interviews. My sample consists of about forty individuals of different ages, ninety percent of them male, chosen by random sampling. There were those who avoided talking, but also those who were dying to tell their stories. My stay there aroused interest in the village, and many were skeptical at first only to completely relax later on. During my stay, I visited places of gathering as well as places that had potential symbolic meaning. I must emphasize that this study is not finished yet and that many of the conclusions given here demand further study and confirmation.

IDENTITY RELATIONS WITHIN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY VIEWED THROUGH THE PRISM OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Lovćenac is a village in Bačka, near Vrbas, Srbobran and Bačka Topola. It is situated on the old road which connects Novi Sad and Subotica: it is practically half way between Novi Sad and Subotica. The road in question was once of international significance, but when the new high way was built it lost that significance. The village has about 3500 residents, 50 to 60 per cent of them made up of Montenegrins who had come to settle there from parts of Old Montenegro, mostly from regions of Katun and Crmnica. The village once had about 5500 residents, 90 per cent of whom were Montenegrin settlers. The major and most numerous migrations of Montenegrins happened in the years 1947 and 1948, but there were a few more waves of migration later on. The first migrations were part of a project of mass colonization instituted by the communist regime after World War II. The goal was to populate the fertile regions of Vojvodina which were emptied by the banishment, killing and/or migration of the German population with people from underdeveloped and infertile regions of Herzegovina, Bosnia and Montenegro. Before the migrants came from Montenegro, the village was named Sekić (Sekisch), and was populated by Germans from Švabija (Schwabenland). After World War II the Germans were banished or killed as collaborators and their property was divided among the colonists by the state. Due to the change in the ethnic structure of the residents, and the fact that most of the Montenegrin settlers were from the region around Lovćen, a mountain in Montenegro, the village was renamed „Lovćenac“. The first settlers, those who came in the period between 1945 and 1950 were given houses and land by the state, those who came in the 1950's and later had to buy real-estate. During the 1960's and 1970's a number of Serbs from Bosnia (mostly from the region around Vlačić) migrated there as well. At first they came as itinerant workers, only to settle there later on and bring others from their homeland. The village is also home to a number of members of the Hungarian minority (about a 100 of them), whilst the last members of the German and Russian

minority disappeared a few decades ago. All the residents speak ijekavian, the pronunciation which is spoken in the homeland of the colonists. Even the Hungarians speak that way because the sheer number of the settlers coupled with the strength of their loyalty to the traditional identity formula managed to simply suck in the few minorities in the village and impose many of the elements of their culture on them. The Montenegrins are aware of the “hypocrisy” of the Hungarians: when speaking to Montenegrins the Hungarians speak “po crnogorski”,⁴ whilst among themselves, in their own homes they use a completely different pronunciation.

As I have stated, the village of Lovćenac belongs to the Mali Idoš municipality, which has a large number of villages that are very different from Lovćenac. On one side Lovćenac borders the village of Feketić the population of which is ethnically divided: half the residents are Montenegrin and half are Hungarian. But, the Montenegrins that live in Feketić originally are not from the same region as those in Lovćenac: mainly they are from the coastal region (mostly from Boka Kotorska). The Lovćenians consider them to be of less worth, weaker and completely different: they come from a region that had a bustling trade in the past, a region which had been a lot more oriented toward the West. They refer to them as *Lacmani* (Latins) due to their age old ties to Catholicism and Western Europe (on the differences between these two groups see Vasović 1959. 56 and on). According to my informants, the women from Feketić always preferred men from Lovćenac, allegedly, because of their prominent masculinity. The residents of Feketić joke amongst themselves referring to the Lovćenians as the Rolling Stones because they come from a rocky region; a man from Feketić once joked by suggesting that Lovćenac be fenced off with barbed wire and presented to tourists as something exotic. However, the identification aspect of the relationship between Lovćenians and the residents of Feketić is not that simple. There are a few Montenegrins in Feketić that are more similar to Lovćenians in origin in that they come from the same region as the Lovćenians. Because of this, they get very angry if Lovćenians generalize when talking about the traits of the residents of Feketić. In these situations an interesting and complex combination of identities arises – a combination of identities brought from the region of origin and those acquired in the new environment. This division of identity produces many misunderstandings and humorous situations. These people gravitate toward Lovćenac, and, spending most of their time there and socializing with Lovćenians in a certain way, through their behavior they state that the Montenegrins in Lovćenac are culturally closer to them than those that live in Feketić. At the same time, they feel a certain loyalty toward their new local identity and they don't let the Lovćenians criticize their neighbors too much. However, the differences between the residents of these two villages are diminishing: there are a large number of mixed marriages, and because of the nature of Vojvodina and Vojvodian society the genetic and cultural predispositions brought from the regions of origin are slowly disappearing.

On the other side, Lovćenac borders the village of Mali Idoš, which is the centre of the municipality, and in which the majority is constituted by Hungarians. The people of Lovćenac consider Hungarians to be cunning and insidious, very loyal to the Catholic Church and politically very unified and organized: they are very disci-

⁴ translator's note: an idiom meaning that they use the Montenegrin pronunciation.

plined and always vote for their representatives in the elections, and they follow the instructions of their catholic priests who, according to my informants, have a very clear political vision. Lovćenac is also near the town of Vrbas, which is also home to a lot of Montenegrin settlers, but these came from the region around Nikšić; that is a region which the people from Old Montenegro (to which Cetinje also belongs) don't consider to be populated by true or indigenous Montenegrins and they refer to them as Herzegovians. Namely, Nikšić is culturally different from Cetinje, and during the Turkish rule was part of a different nahija.⁵ The people from Nikšić are of a different mentality, but also a different cultural and political orientation; in the past they were more inclined toward unity with Serbia than Montenegrin independence. Conflict often arises between the Montenegrins from Vrbas and those from Lovćenac. When Montenegro declared independence, Lovćenians celebrated and passed through Vrbas with Montenegrin flags, and the Montenegrins from Vrbas chased them and tried to take the flags from them. My informants state that they don't identify much with Montenegrins from other villages and that they fight and dislike the Montenegrins from Feketić more than they do Hungarians. Because of this, a restaurant in Feketić that is owned by a man from Lovćenac is frequented by everyone (Montenegrins from Lovćenac, Hungarians and Bosnians) except Montenegrins from Feketić. A bit further from Lovćenac are the villages Zmajev, Sivac and Bačko Petrovo Selo where there are also Montenegrin settlers, but they are also from different regions of Montenegro – they came from the north of Montenegro (Žabljak, Durmitor). The Lovćenians consider them to be „northerners“, physically large and not cultured enough, and with very strong familial, clan and tribal ties that allow them to climb the social ladder through nepotism and have very successful careers. In contrast to them, Lovćenians consider themselves to be strong individuals who aren't capable of organizing and acting in unison. In Lovćenac itself, aside from the few Hungarians that the Montenegrins have a very low opinion of (cunning, insidious), there is a relatively large colony of Serbs from Bosnia. The Montenegrins don't think very highly of them either, they consider them to be primitive, stupid, without any taste or culture. While leading me through the village, my informants kept pointing out that the houses of the Bosnians are ugly, that they always form clusters in one part of the village, how they're always looking to start some kind of business etc. In short, for the Montenegrins they represent a lower race; of course, that doesn't mean that there isn't any contact or friendship between them, but they are all very burdened by the negative prejudices that they use to structure their community. One of the alleged differences between the houses of Bosnians and the houses of Montenegrins is that Bosnian houses are usually new, while Montenegrin houses are old. Based on this it could be said that Montenegrin settlers in Lovćenac construct many different identity relations that move along ethnical, religious and social lines. Different „others“ to which Lovćenians relate are classified into different groups all of which are highly stereotypical.

In regard to identity, Lovćenac represents an antipode to Montenegrins who reside in Serbian cities, who have lost most of their cultural and ethnic characteristics. Lovćenac is also the antipode to Petrovo selo near Kladovo, in eastern Serbia, whose

⁵ translator's note: a nahija is the smallest territorial administrative unit within the Ottoman empire.

residents are the descendents of Montenegrin settlers from the 19th century. They haven't retained any elements of Montenegrin culture except memories and some customs, which is visible only in the name of their football team – „Lovćen“. Today Lovćenians state this as an example of something that they shouldn't let happen to their own village, but also to show that Montenegrins preserve their identity despite everything. There have been multiple contacts on both sides (between Lovćenac and Petrovo Selo) in the form of return visits and joint sporting events. The relationship between Petrovo Selo and Lovćenac can be viewed in the context of the Lovćenians' interest in other Montenegrins living in Serbia. By discovering and dispersing information about other Montenegrins in Serbia, Lovćenians reinforce their own identity and give larger meaning to their struggle to maintain their traditional way of life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MONTENEGRIN IDENTITY IN LOVČENAC: THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

The identity of Montenegrin settlers in Lovćenac has many aspects and can be traced along several lines. Firstly, the village itself represents a meaningful frame of reference for identification and an important field for social communication and interaction. Being from Lovćenac has double meaning. Declaring oneself as a Lovćenian, a person is indicating two cultural continuities and two identities: they are constructing a continuity with the previous residents of the village, Germans who were driven out or left of their own accord after World War II, but also a continuity with the residents of the homeland of the settlers, the parts of Montenegro which are in traditional nomenclature referred to as „Old Montenegro“. One continuity has a local or regional character, and the other represents a combination of the local, ethnic and national concepts. Constructing continuity with the previous residents of the village is a very important part of the way in which today's residents understand and represent themselves. The attempt to construct a continuity with the residents of the old village of Sekić, is, most of all, connected to the social and class aspect of self-identification: the residents of Feketić often refer to Lovćenians as Sekićans. The Montenegrins in Lovćenac enjoy the fact that they have settled in a village that German landlords once lived in. The other villages in the region, Feketić and Mali Idoš were home to the servants and subjects (the so-called „biroši“) of the landlords from Lovćenac. Because of that, today's Lovćenians look down upon Hungarians and Montenegrins who live in those „villages made for servants“. This way, the relational aspect of this line of identification emphasizes the higher status of „us“ as opposed to the low status of „them“. This conveniently matches the implicit belief present in the Montenegrin cultural pattern – the belief that, in a way, they are nobility if for no other reason than because they managed to maintain their independence during the Turkish conquest of the Balkans, and because they always preferred to go to war or just lounge around than work or be slaves. This notion of warriors belonging to a higher class is present in many parts of the Balkans, but it seems to be most prominent in Montenegro (see Nedeljković 2007. 119–166).⁶ This is supported by the fact that the Montenegrins in Lovćenac mostly don't engage in agriculture, in stead they run private businesses,

⁶ Translator's note: hajdučija is a form of social banditry.

work in factories or do nothing. Idleness as a warrior ideal might also be the reason for the fact that most houses in Lovćenac look exactly the same as they did when the settlers came. Many of the houses in the village were last painted before World War II, by their former residents. This however is not the case only due to their social and/or class identification, but also due to a certain feeling of guilt on the part of the settlers, and the idea that the houses don't really belong to them; they could never truly accept the role of owners and real residents of this village. Metaphorically speaking, their bodies are in Lovćenac, while their minds and hearts stayed in Montenegro. This unease is additionally fueled by the fact that the descendents of the Germans that were driven out more and more frequently come to visit the village and look at the houses and graves of their ancestors, and some of them take legal action to get their property back. They have even formed an organization that represents their interests and maintains the memory of their origins. Lovćenians view all this as a conspiracy, and many of them are almost certain that the old owners will be back and the Montenegrins will be driven out. There is a certain distrust rooted in phylogeny, a lack of belief in the stability and security of the social order, that seems to be coming from the deep layers of the unconscious to which it was banished during the centuries of war and destruction, which is also stopping the Montenegrins from perceiving their current environment as stable and worth investing resources and labor in. In Lovćenac, choosing unemployment over agriculture has some ideological causes as well: most Montenegrins were very devoted to communism, and in accordance with that devotion they identified with the notion of the working class as the backbone of socialism, while peasants were considered to be a lower class and a potentially dangerous element in society. After their arrival, many of the settlers started to work the land, but after some time they switched jobs and became clerks in state companies. In order to obtain higher pensions, they gave up their rights on the land, and so deprived (or freed) their descendents of the possibility (or obligation) to become farmers.

The issue between the settlers and the native Germans in Lovćenac also goes the other way. After the war, a couple of German cemeteries, as well as two German churches were torn down or dug up, and companies, apartment buildings and an orthodox church were built in their place. The remains of the buried German population were gathered and reburied in one place above which a monument was erected. The Montenegrins view this as an honorable and moral act today, and as something to be proud of, while the descendents of the Germans view it as a shameful act. Aside from viewing this issue through the opposition between liberators and traitors, it can also be contextualized through use of the opposition of oppressors versus victims. The descendents of the German natives are trying to present themselves as innocent victims who endured terrible ordeals after World War II. After the war the German population who were identified as collaborators, and there are many Lovćenians today who are convinced that all Germans were collaborators, were shipped off to work camps where they were held before the extradition.⁷ The memories of the Germans

⁷ After they had settled in, the colonists organized a planned removal of artifacts of material culture left by the previous tenants of the village. Signs, pictures and ornaments were removed from German houses – some of them were ideological (fascist), while others were just artistic decorations. The people that organized this considered the ornaments and paintings on and inside the houses creepy, and that they should be removed for aesthetic as well as political

who had lived through those days have been made into a book which evokes those days and those events.⁸ Allegedly, the Germans were tortured in the camps, and many of them died there. The older Montenegrins in Lovćenac claim that there were no liquidations, and that it's all lies and propaganda. Aside from that, the Germans are trying to portray the colonization as an unnatural process wherein people from a completely different setting were introduced into a cultivated and highly developed environment and proceeded to destroy the culture that they found there: in the aforementioned book the settlers are portrayed as wild men of the woods who had never had contact with beds, electricity, hygiene etc. According to this book, these people completely ruined the village of Sekić and drove the natives out. The biggest advocate of this view is Oswald Hartman, a doctor who hadn't been driven out after the war, but was kept as the only qualified doctor in the area. He stayed in Lovćenac until the 1970's, when he retired. After he retired, he went to Germany, and his son initiated the organized visits of extradited Germans to the village. Doctor Hartman was very respected in the village but later became one of the harshest critics of the settlers. The Montenegrins today are very angry at Hartman and his sons, emphasizing that they are not the savages that he made them out to be. They point out that Cetinje had electricity long before Sekić and it was full of embassies. It's interesting that the descendants of the Germans refer to the village only as "Sekić", pointing out, indirectly, that they do not acknowledge the legitimacy neither of the colonization nor of any social or cultural effects it had, including the changing of the name. This is their way of struggling to maintain a continuity with the old village of Sekić and signifying Lovćenac as a break in that continuity.

The other ethno-local continuity, with the ancestors from their homeland the Lovćenians can establish because of the fact that most of the residents are descendants of settlers from Montenegro. To be a Lovćenian, in the ethnic sense, means to be a Montenegrin with a highly developed sense of national and ethnic belonging: it has a relatively clear symbolic value and meaning. Many books have been written on the ethos of the Montenegrins, but few of them were based on empirical studies. What we know from these works is that Montenegrins possess an extreme form of national idealization and a high intensity of ethnic pride. A superiority complex is often ascribed to them. Because of that, all of them proudly state that they are Montenegrins and Lovćenians, and in many situations these two terms become synonymous. They try to claim the positive side of both of the aforementioned continuities, and these two continuities complement each other wonderfully: in their homeland the Montenegrins were poor, honorable warriors, while the Germans in Lovćenac were rich, clean and hard working. They are proud of the valor and courage of their homeland and of the nobility, culture and hard work of their current residence.

The identification with the Germans, the previous owners of the houses, is not only based on class and is not always positive. The Montenegrins often consider

reasons; it was even openly said that they remind the people of the Germans. From the institutional level the settlers were getting a message not to worry, because the old tenants would never be coming back (on this topic see Various authors 1978:43). It is hard to establish whether this was done in order to erase the memory of the Germans, to mobilise the settlers or to maintain the ideological purity of the fragile socialist community.

⁸ Hartman et al. 2007.

themselves to be the complete opposite of the Germans. The Germans are always used as an example when trying to criticize laziness and the lack of hygiene and discipline among the Montenegrins – the vision of the clean and punctual Germans serves as a contrast to their own community and is used to better understand it. Today, unlike the time when Germans were living there, the drains and sewers in Lovćenac are clogged and broken, the houses are left unpainted and are falling into disrepair. Many Montenegrins in Lovćenac possess photographs of the old village of Sekić and wonder at the clean and tidy streets so unlike those of today. The inherited modes of behavior from their old (Montenegrin) environment, the Lovćenians manifest in different ways. The resistance toward agriculture is one of them, and the tendency toward making quick and easy money is another. The Lovćenians speak with a great deal of certainty about there being a lot of treasure hidden in the village – the Germans had hidden it intending to come back for it. Because of this, many Montenegrins hope to find hidden gold or jewelry when renovating their houses. My host described the excitement he felt when he accidentally discovered a hollow in the wall while doing minor repairs on his house. He had imagined himself finding a great treasure. Unfortunately for him, it was just an old hollow for a chimney. The hopes of today's residents are also being fueled by the fact that more and more descendants of the old tenants are visiting the village. The Lovćenians don't believe that they are just coming to see the homes of their ancestors, or to try and get their property back: legal regulation of the returning of nationalized property still seems far off, because Serbia still hasn't passed a law on it. Because of this, the settlers view the frequent visits as proof that something is hidden in the village and that the Germans are coming back in order to find it and take it away. I have heard stories of cases in which Germans asked the new owners to look at the houses from the inside; they would go in and spend a lot of time in one of the rooms „looking strangely at the walls or the ceiling“. But, despite all of the second-hand evidence for the existence of treasure, no one has found it yet, or at least, they didn't tell anyone. The hunt for the „buried treasure“ isn't the only way in which the Lovćenians try to make a quick fortune: they are prone to gambling, which can be seen from the fact that they have the most casinos and bookmakers (and the most patrons of these establishments) in the municipality. While I was there, I witnessed a scene of moping of one young and otherwise cheerful Montenegrin. I was told that he would be a great informant, but he barely spoke; he was just coming from the casino where he had lost a rather large sum of money.

My hosts fear the processes of globalization and regionalization to varied extent, believing them to be a trap in which Hungarian propaganda and Hungarian interests lurk. According to many of the villagers, these processes also tend to enable the assimilation of Montenegrins.

CONCLUSIONS

The Montenegrins of Lovćenac are an example of extreme national identification of the Montenegrin community in Serbia. The population in question inhabits a rural area and has managed to build relatively stable ethnic and national boundaries by constructing an image of itself based on existential, spiritual and biological paradigms. This has enabled this community to become the base of Montenegrin national-

ism in Serbia. These boundaries depend little upon material and cultural facts, or rather they have no basis in operational culture; the boundaries (aside from the specific dialect) are mostly based on subjective significance which is ascribed to certain cultural elements inside the community, elements that have no function other than the symbolic. However, it would be wrong to interpret the lack of material facts as a lack of any material foundations for Montenegrin nationalism in Lovćenac. These foundations might not be specific original products of culture, but they certainly are ways, intensity and frequency of using certain elements shared with other communities in their surroundings. There aren't many things that Lovćenians do that their neighbors don't do, the difference is rather in that the Lovćenians do things more or less frequently, to a larger or lesser extent or more or less intensively than their neighbors. The quantitative differences in this case reflect and/or sustain the qualitative differences. Lovćenians are more aggressive, they fire guns more during celebrations, they are less diligent, gamble more etc. which all produces and strengthens their sense of being unique. The resistance to assimilation displayed by the residents of Lovćenac is therefore based on the fact that they have managed to create a pretty resistant political and symbolic community, and this resistance stems from the characteristics of the region from which the group originated, as well as from the socio-political conditions and reasons for their migrations. They come from a region named "Old Montenegro" which is the bastion of Montenegrin national identity, and their migration from this region to Vojvodina is the consequence of events from World War II and the fact that the settlers were mostly partisans and avid communists.

The virtuality of Montenegrin identity in Lovćenac is linked to their relationship with the former residents of the village. For decades the settlers built their identity and lifestyle according to the images of the former residents that they had created. Today, this relationship is getting a more concrete and material form through the encounters with the descendents of the former residents, so the settlers are trying out different ways to process the new social and cultural conditions of today. Some of these people are heavily burdened by this and in conjunction with other social facts this is becoming one of the basic fears of today's residents of Lovćenac. The Hungarians are also supposedly part of this as they're allegedly rooting for the Germans to come back and are taking certain concrete steps to that effect (welcoming the visitors from Germany for instance). Because of this, this ethnic triangle is burdened by different symbolic meanings which produce latent and manifest ethnic confrontations.

The residents of Lovćenac tend to focus on the past to a great extent, which means that memory plays a very important role in their social life. The central themes in this focus are the processes of migration and acculturation that took place some sixty years ago. The process of moving from the old into the new environment was a severe cultural shock from which the community is still reeling, and which is still blamed for any troubles they might encounter.

The Montenegrins in Lovćenac construct a large number of identity relations and accordingly possess many different kinds, levels and aspects of memory. Firstly, there is the division between the memories of their own community and the memories that concern other communities. The memories concerning other communities are mostly about the former residents of the village, the Germans. Here we encounter the puzzling issue of cultural effects of migration flows that had a counter flow: one

community has settled in a place from which another community left. Theories of migration mostly deal with models of migration and acculturation processes, or rather, the way in which migrations take place and their consequences. Attention is focused on the relations and/or cultural exchange between groups that come into direct contact or develop different identity relations. However, so far theoretical and empirical research paid little heed to the consequences of migrations that had a counter flow. Counter flow is a term used in migration theory, and it signifies the situation in which one group leaves a certain area and another comes to take its place.⁹ Even though the members of the group that moved away are no longer physically present, it isn't gone without a trace. It leaves behind many cultural artifacts and reminders of its existence which the new group has to deal with and culturally process. The settlers have no direct contact with the group that moved away (the "natives"), but they do have certain ideas about them to which they relate and which they use as a basis for their new lifestyle. What the new lifestyle of the settlers will be like, or what the relationship between the "traditional" pattern brought from the homeland and the new pattern found in the new environment will be, depends on many factors: the timeframe for the colonization, the sheer size of the wave of migration, the kind and nature of the environment which is being colonized, the characteristics of the environment from which the settlers are coming, the migration policies of the country receiving the settlers, the characteristics of the settlers themselves etc.¹⁰ Aside from this, the leaving of the old group is always linked to certain cultural and political conditions; when these conditions change or disappear, the natives or their descendents often try to return to their native land or try to interact more with it, which further complicates the process of acculturation of the newly settled group. Also, in this situation the social actors include not only the group that left and the one that came in its place, but also other groups that continuously inhabit the territory in question. These 'third parties' remember the natives and continually compare them to the settlers, vesting certain meanings and values in these comparisons and acting accordingly.

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⁹ Đurđev 1995.

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